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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes three sets of Soviet documents, some directed toward a domestic audience, some toward an English-speaking audience, and some toward Third World countries. It was hypothesized that references to the United States would, over time, reflect the lessening of tensions between the super powers, but that material directed toward Third World audiences would contain more hostile references to the U.S. then would English-language materials. The sample consisted of two weeks from "The Daily Review of the Soviet Press," published by Novosti; official Soviet translations of the principal May Day speeches from 1966 through 1972; and a constructed week of material from the "Daily Reports of the United States Broadcast Information Service." Hostile references in 1972 were less than half those of 1965, thus confirming the first hypothesis. But in an analysis of English and non-English broadcasts for 1972, it was noted that the non-English broadcasts contained far fewer neutral or favorable comments about the U. S., far more references to the U. S. as an imperialist power, and far more favorable comments about communism. (Author/SW)

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"TO-MORROW SPEAK WHAT TO-MORROW THINKS"

by

Robert L. Bishop, James M. Pipp, and Robert W. Schweitzer

"And 'tis a kind of good deed to say well:
And yet words are no deeds." -- Wm. Shakespeare, King Henry VIII.

Though nations do not always suit deeds to words, words are important counters in the game of international relations. A nation's propaganda, especially that directed toward its own people, often mirrors its leaders' intent, if only through a mirror darkly.

This paper is the report of a study of three sets of Soviet documents, some directed toward a domestic audience, some to an English-speaking audience, and some to Third World countries. It was hypothesized that references to the United States would reflect both the state of tension existing between the super powers and the audience to which the words were directed. The documents included two weeks of material from The Daily Review of the Soviet Press, published by the Novosti Press Agency, official Soviet translations of the principal speech at May Day celebrations from 1966 through 1972, and a constructed week of material from the Daily Reports of the United States Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) for 1972. All material was in English. The first two sets were translated by official Soviet agencies, the last by a U.S. agency.

The first week of material from the Daily Review of the Soviet Press was for the period February 15-19, 1965. Each article reported in the review was tallied as a separate unit except for a "News in Brief" section which was counted as one article. Then each mention of the U.S., either direct or indirect, was scored as favorable, neutral, or unfavorable.

The results indicate a very hostile attitude. There were almost 11 hostile references each day, while only three references for the entire five-day period could be called favorable. One praised portions of the American press for an anti-Vietnam war stand. Two dealt with American tours by Russian performers.

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Typical unfavorable references included a condemnation of the U.S. for making South Korea an imperialistic colony and military base. Americans were called armed pirates, economic enslavers, barbarous bombers, trans-Atlantic butchers, and wanton bombers of civilian hospitals in North Vietnam.

But the second sample week, February 19-23, 1973, seems to deal with an entirely different country. While there were 20 hostile references to the U.S, 12 of these occurred in one article on Latin America. An article on "The Logic of Coexistence" discussed working together for peace. One called "Positive Shift" congratulated the U.S. and Cuba on an anti-hi-jacking pact and a more realistic approach to common problems. Another dealt with Soviet-American Bering sea exploration.

The tone was much less critical. Instead of emphasizing military subjects, the writers sometimes talked of American authors. All Americans were no longer aggressors; only specific individuals or groups caused the trouble. The ordinary Yankee was pictured as a normal human, sometimes deceived by his leaders.

Table 1

Hostile References to the U.S. in Two Weekly Reviews of the Soviet Press

	Feb. 15-19, 1965	Feb. 19-23, 1973
Total articles	60	60
Articles dealing with the U.S.	13	20
Hostile references to the U.S.	54	20
Direct references	31	16
Indirect references	23	4

Kremlinologists have always paid close attention to the official speeches on May 1, and so it was hypothesized that these might be a reliable index to Soviet-American relations, at least on a verbal level. The main speech for each year was analyzed for number of unfavorable references to the U.S.,

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either direct or indirect. (The translation furnished by Novosti was utilized.) The results are given in Figure 1.

Figure 1 about here

The first three speeches, 1966-8, were given by the Russian defense minister. The first speech, by R. Y. Malinovsky, had 7 unfavorable references. His successor, A. A. Grechko, raised the total to 12 in 1967, but dropped to two in 1968 and three in 1969. Malinovsky spoke of the aggravated tensions caused by the aggressive acts of imperialists, first and foremost the U.S. Grechko was much lighter in tone, though he did call Americans pirates and aggressors.

Leonid Brezhnev gave the next three speeches and reflected a definite soft line approach. Only once in each speech did he brand the U.S. as an aggressor, and then only in indirect references.

The last May Day speech of this series was given by Nikolai Podgorney, president of the USSR.

For the first time in this sample he spoke directly to the workers and peoples of the capitalistic nations. He called on them to be diligent in working against the giant monopolies and firm in demands for political and socio-economic rights. He spoke about Vietnam and called the U.S. imperialistic, but without any real heat. Both Podgorney and Brezhnev tended to stress cooperation and co-existence with the West.

It is not possible to generalize from an analysis of Foreign Broadcast Information Service reports, for these are selected on the basis of interest rather than systematically. Still, taken in conjunction with more representative sample, they are of interest.

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A constructed week of five days was drawn for 1972, including Monday, August 7; Tuesday, May 16; Wednesday, September 27; Thursday, May 25; and Friday, December 29. All FBIS reports for the given dates, plus four days after each date, were read so as to locate all material originally broadcast on these selected days. Separate records were kept for English-language and non-English broadcasts. (The most common non-English languages were Russian, Arabic, Finnish, Romanian, Persian, Polish, Creole, Albanian, Mandarin and Vietnamese.)

Each report was assigned to one of six categories:

1. Government and politics. All items referring to international affairs, internal politics, or the United Nations.

2. Military. All items dealing with any country's military actions except for Vietnam, including arms reduction talks.

3. Vietnam. U.S. actions about Vietnam, battle reports, the Paris talks, and commentaries from all over the world.

4. Science. Science or scientific achievements in any country.

5. Sports. All items dealing with sports, regardless of origin.

6. Economics and business. All business-oriented material, including trade and monetary affairs.

Table 2 indicates very little difference between English and non-English broadcasts as far as subject matter is concerned.

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Table 2

Soviet Broadcasts Classified by Content and Language

Category	Government & Politics	Military	Vietnam	Science	Sports	Economics & Business
English Broadcasts	23	2	18	4	0	0
Non-English Broadcasts	26	3	14	2	1	2
Total	49	5	32	6	1	2

Each article was also analyzed in terms of themes, and now striking differences emerge. Using the phrase as the basic unit for analysis, each broadcast was scored according to the following list of themes:

1. The U.S. as a war criminal, barbarous, cruel, or destructive.

2. The U.S. as imperialist, often used with other phrases, such as " . . . the world witnessed a further escalation of American imperialistic crimes in Vietnam . . . "

3. The U.S. in league with South Vietnamese puppets.

4. The U.S. as an obstacle to world peace.

5. The U.S. as an aggressor, including references to any part of the world.

6. Neutral or favorable comments about the U.S. These are generally neutral or only slightly favorable, as mentions of U.S./U.S.S.R. talks "to strengthen world peace."

7. Pro-communist references, such as those which speak of Russia and other socialist countries as "progressive forces throughout the world."

The results, broken down as to English and non-English broadcasts, are given in Table 3:

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Table 3

Themes in Soviet Propaganda Broadcasts Reported by FBIS

	English Broadcasts Total References	English Broadcasts % of U.S. References	Non-English Broadcasts Total References	Non-English Broadcasts % of U.S. References
1. U.S. as war criminal	22	28.6%	22	21.2%
2. U.S. as imperialist	1	1.3	23	22.1
3. U.S. as puppets	4	5.2	7	6.7
4. U.S. as obstacle to peace	1	1.3	6	5.8
5. U.S. as an aggressor	16	20.8	27	26.0
6. Neutral or favorable	33	42.9	20	19.2
7. Pro-Communist	10		54	
Total references to the U.S.	77		104	
Total	87		159	

The most striking difference in the two reports is the number of pro-communist references. Only 11 per cent of the English references fall into this category, compared to 34 per cent of non-English references. Also notable are the increased number of references to the U.S. as an imperialist society and a decrease in neutral or favorable references. It would appear that broadcasts to English-speaking audiences concentrated on war guilt, while those aimed at other audiences emphasized more universal themes.

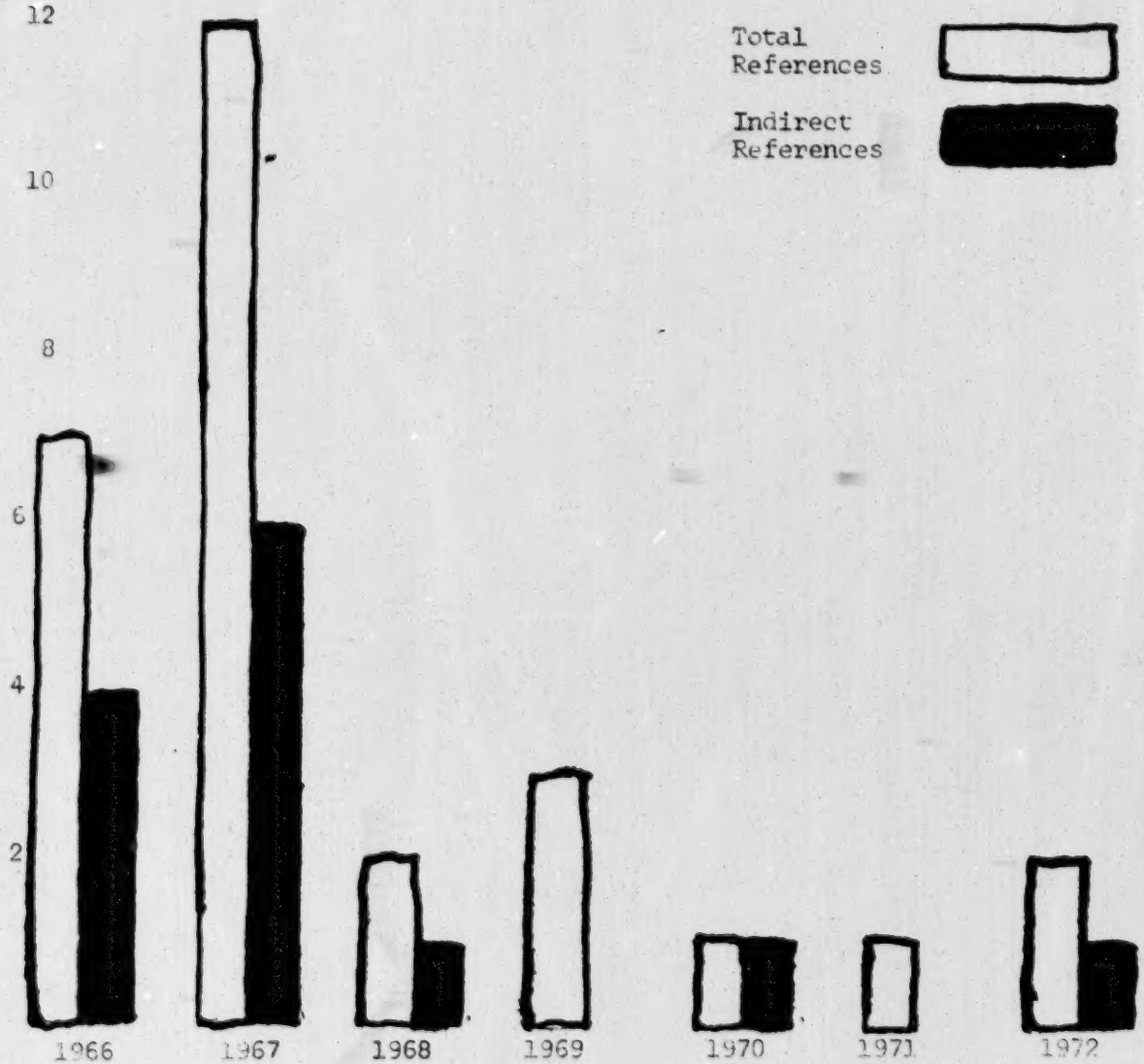
Taken together, these studies indicate a drastic decline in name-calling, at least in media which might be expected to reach the United States. The continued level of rhetoric aimed at non-English speaking countries indicates a continuing war of words, if not of deeds. And the student of propaganda may well remember Mr. Emerson's advice:

"Speak what you think to-day in words as hard as cannon-balls, and to-morrow speak what to-morrow thinks in hard words again, though it contradict every thing you said to-day." (From "The Poet.")

Figure 1

Hostile References to the U.S.

in Principal May Day Speeches



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